

DISCONTENT

"MOTHER OF PROGRESS"

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HOME, WASH., WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 28, 1901.

WHOLE NO. 155.

WHAT ANARCHISM OUGHT TO MEAN.

In looking over some old copies of *DISCONTENT*, I came across an article by Comrade Byington with the above title. He says:

"One point keeps grating on my memory, to wit, Comrade Ballou's reiterated charge that I have declared myself in favor of sacrificing principle to policy."

Now, I don't want to suggest, in view of this "grating" sensation, that it is a case of "guilty conscience needs no accusing;" but I really do not remember making this charge, let alone reiterating. It is a good while since this discussion he refers to; and I, too, as he says, "have no desire to revive it." Still I don't want him to think that I would dodge his question or hesitate to answer his argument; for I consider his question, to wit, "What meaning is naturally appropriate to the name of Anarchism?" as very important.

I am convinced that it is he, and not his opponents, who would give to Anarchism a "wide meaning." For instance, he would organize a society, retaining the machinery of government, its courts, police and jails; and he would call this Anarchism. He would include in Anarchism Prohibition, Single Tax, and several other things, I believe. I want my comrade to correct me if I am wrong. It's a good while since he told us in Liberty "what Anarchism is" and "what Anarchism is not." My remembrance is that he outlined a policy that would require the widest kind of a "wide meaning." I wrote Mr. Tucker at the time that I had no objection to comrades organizing. It was their right to place themselves under rule and rulers. But I denied their right to call it Anarchism. Anarchy is well defined by etymology and by use. It is the absence of government. I am aware that so-called "Anarchist" organization is claimed by its advocates to be devoid of government. But, according to Byington, it will contain the "machinery of government—courts, police and jails., It will have its chief and sub officials. The query is what is there in government that our comrade objects to.

I turn to a little pamphlet, "The Relation of Anarchism to Organization," by Fred Schuller. He says:

"I have gone out of my way a little to show that ANARCHISM IS NOT OPPOSED TO MAJORITY RULE, NOR ANY OTHER RULE, SO LONG AS THIS RULE RESTS ON AGREEMENT."

Small capitals in part mine. So I assume our philosophic comrades believe that "the consent of the governed constitutes the just powers of government." And so, never having given their consent to be governed, they deny the powers of government. But does the consent to be governed make one an Anarchist? Comrade Byington says:

"The words 'Anarchism' and 'liberty' have not the same origin. The former . . . expressing the absence of government, the latter expresses the ab-

sence of slavery;" and slavery is "anything that controls man to an objectionable extent;" while government "expresses the control of one sentient being by another."

From this I gather—albeit I am no scholar, and may be mistaken—that Anarchism is not necessarily libertarian agitation. While it expresses the absence of government, it may accept the machinery of government, also laws, rules, etc.

I wish our comrade would write an article on "What Government Ought to Mean." His descant on "What Anarchism Ought to Mean" leaves me completely in the dark. He claims it "inappropriate to give the name Anarchy or Anarchism to everything that might rightly be called liberty or liberalism." But can he name anything that "might rightly be called liberty," that is not Anarchism? If Anarchy does not mean liberty, it has no meaning, and ought not to be used, except in the sense of confusion—want of order. Our comrade concludes that Anarchism ought to be employed to designate the abolition of the state. And I conclude he is right; but what is the state? I call it sovereign authority, the rule of man, organized authority, the element of government.

Comrade Schuller says: "Take the element of government out of the state; and no Anarchist will object to what remains."

Knock the brains out of a man; and no enemy would object to what remains.

I differ with Byington more in the meaning of government, than Anarchism. I want him to demonstrate any radical difference between government organization and Anarchist organization, such of course as he advocates. I want a difference in principle, and not in the fact that it is voluntarily entered into. I want to see a difference in fact, and not in name. He cannot show a radical difference between government and slavery, nor between Anarchy and liberty. The absence of government signifies liberty; and a man governed is a slave. Bakounine says; "A master, whoever he may be, and however liberal he may desire to show himself, remains none the less always a master. His existence necessarily implies the slavery of all that are beneath him."

In conclusion, I want to assure Comrade Byington that I am not worrying about our Anarchist friends organizing. I think such an organization would be like the Irish republic John Boyle O'Reilly tells us of. An organism, to be efficient, needs no independent mind.

A. L. BALLOU.

REVOLUTION HELPLESS.

I wish to dwell with special emphasis upon the point that the ideals of Anarchy can only be realized through economic changes, which promote individual freedom from the economic dependence of some upon others; and that

when such changes are made, and to the extent to which they are realized, every form of slavery and oppression becomes impossible.

Chattel slavery was a crude and imperfect form of industry. It depended mainly upon the physical arm of the law to enforce submission and obedience on the part of the slave, and to maintain the supremacy of the master. To the extent to which the law became weakened, the chances for the freedom of the slave, either through revolt or by running away, were increased. True, the slave, in a measure, was dependent upon his master for his food, clothing and shelter; but his wants were so few that they could be supplied by fishing, hunting and a crude agriculture, so that, if he ran away, the chances were that he would better himself, rather than otherwise. Under this system, revolution did hold out a promise of betterment. But how is it under the present system of industry? Now, the power of the master depends but slightly upon the physical arm of the law. The dependence of the workingman is economic, and not physical or political. It arises partly from the increase of his own wants, and partly by the narrowing of the range of his own activities. His needs are vastly greater than those of the chattel slave; while the range of his ordinary employments is less. The subdivision of labor and the use of machinery have taken away his power to supply his own wants by the application of his own labor. He must depend upon a multitude of others to satisfy even the commonest necessities of life. And, in addition to these, he is commonly charged with the support of a family, from which the slave was free. Then, as a result of the monopolization of the land, the machinery, the means of exchange and the avenues and means of communication and transportation, he is deprived of all power to employ himself. He must find some one with sufficient economic power—generally in the form of money—who is willing to employ him. On this employer he is dependent for his stipulated wage, with which to purchase the things he needs for himself and those dependent upon him. In his case, the government is a comparatively small factor; and it would do him no good to revolt against that, because it has little to do with his case. And if he revolts against his employer, he is "quarrelling with his own bread and butter." He cannot, like the chattel slave, run away and subsist on hunting and fishing and the cultivation of a bit of land. His wants are too great and too complex. He would be likely to perish, if he attempted it. He too fully realizes his economic dependence to undertake any such thing.

What possible hope, then, is there in depending upon a class of men like this to carry out a revolutionary program? And yet, these are the very ones who must be relied on to make a revolution

effective. It is well known that this economic dependence makes them the political supporters of their bosses. Who does not know that it was largely the votes of the workingmen that elected Mr. McKinley? In nine cases out of ten, they vote just as their employers dictate; and if they vote that way, they will just as certainly fight that way, if it comes to a matter of fighting. Every intelligent Anarchist knows that the bitterest and most unreasoning opponents of Anarchist principles, when those principles are supposed to involve a violent interference with the established order, are these wage workers, usually termed "the working class." Their economic dependence tends to make them fawning sycophants, instead of independent, self-reliant men.

It does no good to rail at them, and condemn them, because of this fact. It is the part of wisdom to recognize the fact, and then shape our course accordingly. No revolutionary movement can ever enlist the workingmen, as a class, in its support, as long as their economic dependence continues.

Nor is this economic dependence confined to the workingmen. It permeates all ranks and grades of society. These same employers are in turn dependent upon the banks for the ready money with which to meet their payrolls, and keep open their places of business. If an employer cannot get the money to meet his payroll, he must close his doors, as he had to do in '93. Merchants are dependent on the trade of their customers, and also upon the bankers for bank accommodations in times of need. Everywhere there has grown up this system of economic dependence, which precludes the possibility of any class, or combination of classes, inaugurating or carrying on a successful revolution against the existing order of things.

Now this mutual dependence of each upon the other is all right within certain limits. It becomes an evil at the point where it becomes unequal, and therefore gives power over others to compel their submission. What is wanting is something that will relieve this inequality, and make men economically free.

As I pointed out in a previous letter, the whole volume of the law and government is intended to fortify and preserve this economic system. To change, or even abolish, the law or government, would not necessarily change the system. But by introducing changes, by way of improvements, into the system, which decrease the economic dependence of the people, so that, for instance, a workman can get a job without waiting to find an employer who can command the ready money to pay him for his services, so that, if he is able and willing to serve his fellow men, he can receive a credit, and utilize that credit without loss and at once to satisfy his

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OFF AND ON.

Hulda B. Loud, of the Rockland (Mass.) Independent presents the inconsistent spectacle of an Anarchist who advocates marriage slavery. At least, it is difficult to draw any other conclusion from her joining in with the conservative crowd to rebuke Professor Herron for putting principle ahead of conventionality. Ida Ballou, who was formerly supposed to be a radical, also joins the reactionaries, in a letter to the above paper, in which she says: "I have more sympathy with you in your denunciations, than I have with the social radicals in their applause." To be sure, she pleads for charity toward "the poor man"—as if such as he were in need of charity! These heroes of progress are not looking for a condescending patronage. They seek no favors from the worshippers of Mrs. Grundy. Of course, their spirit cannot be understood by those to whom principle is so trivial a thing that they would keep the world in slavery forever, rather "than to do a great right and make some one suffer for it." I suppose Ida Ballou would be opposed to the emancipation of chattel slaves, because the slave owners would "suffer;" to the abolition of monarchy, because it would hurt the king's feelings to lose the power to oppress his fellows; or to the rectification of any other monumental injustice, because the beneficiaries of that injustice might be made somewhat unhappy for a time.

Where inharmonious relations exist, some suffering is inevitable. The termination of such relations is the obvious, just and natural course, and is so recognized everywhere except in the conventional marriage bond. If either is to bear the heaviest burden, it should be the one who tries to hold the other in bondage, not the one who seeks release for both. But in point of fact, freedom would not bring to either such lasting unhappiness as continuance in the unfit relation—unless, indeed, one of them is a mere parasite, with no independent individuality.

Mrs. Herron's character has nothing to do with the issue. Be she angel or devil, she has no right to enslave a man, cripple his usefulness, and ruin his life. Nor, to do her justice, does it appear that she has sought to do so, nor to afford the slightest encouragement to the anti-progressive conventional moralists, who are shedding inky tears over her imaginary wrongs. In fact, she is quoted as approving of Professor Herron's conduct toward her as just, kind, courteous and considerate. What room for cavil is left, except for those who are, in general, hostile to every manifestation of liberty?

I appreciate the spirit of Ida Ballou's appeal for kindness and toleration; but, in the case of Professor Herron, it is absolutely superfluous. He can stand the severest application of the most rigid justice.

I have examined the prospectus of the "Ideal Commonwealth" projected by Alice Wolverton Eyre and her associates. It appears to me beautiful in some of its ideals, but destitute of a practical working basis. It repudiates leadership, yet is founded in obedience to a vision, and is to include a temple for the teaching of a particular religion. It stands for lofty industrial ideals, yet is to be founded with the polluted money begged from the blood-stained hands of the wealthy robbers of the race. It promises liberty, yet sets up an arbitrary standard of sex life, and will "discourage" all unions which are not according to its set plan. Fundamentally, the whole scheme is weak, in that it ignores the great principle of relativity, and expects to build a perfected civilization according to a preconceived pattern. While representing society as an organism, it ignores altogether the fundamental laws of organic life and growth. Its communistic conception is my ideal of a social existence; and I firmly believe it to be capable of realization. But the form of such a society will be moulded by experience, and cannot be predetermined by any a priori plan.

Our visit to Anderson Island had a rather unexpected aftermath, in the shape of the following article, which appeared under glaring headlines in the Tacoma Evening News:

A citizen of Tacoma, who visited Anderson's Island yesterday, tells a story of goings on there last evening, that is mildly sensational, to say the least.

According to this gentleman, it was about eight o'clock in the evening, when two naphtha launches, carrying about forty-five people, arrived at the island. The launches carried red flags; and no United States flags were visible. The passengers landed at a little farmhouse owned by Mrs. Lindstrom, and after talking for some time, adjourned to the orchard, where speeches were delivered.

The principal speaker of the evening was a man named James F. Morton; and at first his remarks were of a temperate nature; but as he became warmed up, he denounced the administration and American institutions in general, his closing remarks being of a most sensational nature.

The people who visited the island on the launches belong to the Home colony, which was established about a year and a half ago, at Home, Pierce county, Washington. At the present time, there are 34 men, 36 women and 16 children in this colony; and the teachings of the leaders are said to be of a vicious character.

Free love is among the doctrines said to be taught; and visits are frequently made to settlers in the vicinity, with the object of inducing them to join the colony. Among the members of the colony are said to be two men who draw pensions from the United States government; and on this money the colony is in a measure supported.

The Home colony publishes a paper, which is entered at the post office at Home as second class matter. The name of the paper is Discontent; and a perusal of its columns is enough to convince the reader that the writers are certainly discontented with the present order of things.

On reading the above, I promptly sent the following reply to the News:

Home, Wash., August 17, 1901.

Editor of The News: My attention has been called to an article in the News, of Monday last, under the caption "Is Home Colony a Free Love Camp?" In justice to myself, and to the colonists of Home, I send you this

correction of certain statements therein contained. I have no doubt that a sense of fairness to the persons whose character has been assailed in your columns will lead you to publish this reply, in which, for brevity's sake, I will pass by several minor inaccuracies.

Our picnic on Anderson Island, so far from being even "mildly sensational," was simply a pleasant day's outing, in response to an invitation from friends on the island. We arrived at noon, (not at "8 o'clock in the evening") and enjoyed a social lunch in the orchard. My address was one of a series on social reforms. So far from being sensational, it was an attempt at philosophic argument; and nothing was further from my thought than an attempt to inflame the passions of any person present. The red flag is the symbol of world-wide fraternity, and of the rights of labor, and has no necessary connection in our minds with deeds of violence.

Home colony was founded as a sociological experiment, about five years ago, by people of various shades of thought. Each settler supports himself; and the colony is not even "in a measure" supported by anybody's pension money. We live in individual or family homes, and do not at present attempt to practise Communism. DISCONTENT is NOT AN OFFICIAL ORGAN, but is published by a voluntary group among the colonists. The aim of the settlement is to test the theory that in a well-ordered society it is safe to allow each individual full liberty of action, provided he does not infringe his neighbor's equal freedom.

We have many friends in the vicinity, but do not seek to induce anybody to join the colony. If by "free love" is meant promiscuous sex relations, then the doctrine is neither taught nor practised here. Many of us, however, believe that love is the only true basis for sexual union; that the present marriage system is radically defective; and that incompatible natures should not be harnessed together for life, because of a ceremony ignorantly entered into. We believe that every theory and institution must stand the test of experience, and be accepted or rejected according to the results; and that monogamy is no exception to the rule. In this, as in other matters, widely different opinions prevail among our different members. We are engaged in the quest of truth, and welcome light from all sources. I know of nothing "vicious" in the teaching of any "leaders" here, except to those who are so conservative that they dread every approach of the spirit of inquiry.

Respectfully yours,

James F. Morton, Jr.

I "toned down" my reply considerably, for the express purpose of removing all possible excuse for its rejection. It now remains to be seen whether the News will have sufficient honesty to admit the correction.

The outlook is not bright. In the dealings there is no indication on the one side of generosity, and on the other there is too little of common sense. Some day may be a time of broader humanity, when money will no more be the fetish, when the race will be just, honest, considerate. When that day comes strikes will be at an end. There is not the faintest gleam of its dawning. —Tacoma Ledger.

Thus the Ledger concludes an editorial on the strike situation. For sheer

unrelieved pessimism, commend us to this wail of a capitalist journal. It is hopeless, because it sees the evil, and dares not point out the remedy. How different from the attitude of the social radicals, who are often superficially accused of looking on the dark side! We see the oppressive conditions, which one must be blind indeed to ignore. But along with the blackness of the night we perceive the gleam of the coming dawn. The true propagandist has a stimulus which at least lessens the tendency to pessimism. In working for a better day, he is "making the most of the present," in a far truer and surer sense than is dreamed of by those who seek to purchase a fleeting comfort with fair-spoken falsehoods.

I think Comrade Morong's position needs little further comment from me, since he does not refute the points raised in my previous criticism. I believe that sexual relations, whether permanent or "temporary," based on any commercial consideration, rather than on mutual attraction and affection will, to say the least, prove unsatisfactory and far from conducing to the highest ideals. It is also clear to my mind that if a couple prefer to live communistically or cooperatively, rather than in individual homes, it is their own private affair, whether Comrade Morong sees any economic advantage in it or not. Such an arrangement does not necessarily imply economic dependence on either side; and to stigmatize as unfree those who see fit to enter into it, is a gratuitous piece of injustice. For the rest, I leave Comrades Morong and Byington to each other's tender mercies.

Rear Admiral Robley D. Evans, of the United States Navy, has written a book. In it, he has had occasion to criticize some of the public acts of Senator William E. Chandler, as Secretary of the Navy, seventeen years ago. Of the truth or falsity of the strictures, I know and care nothing. The point is in what follows. Instead of trying to refute the criticism, Chandler flies to the usual refuge of cowards, by pleading the baby act. He complains to the navy department that a subordinate has dared to criticize a former superior—one whose personality should be as sacred as the Ark of the Covenant. That a mere fighting machine should presume to exercise the rights of a human being, and to express an honest opinion—this was indeed an assertion of individuality not to be tolerated. So the department promptly censured its refractory slave, reminding him, in the pompous language of officialdom, that he was not a man, but a liveried puppet of the government, with no right to form an opinion of his own, or to tell the truth without permission. And the poor wretch can do nothing but pocket the insult, and submit to the tyranny. This is what it means to be a government servant—a mere cog in the huge machine. The military officer, by an insolent despotism which has not yet, I believe, been equalled by any private or corporate boss, is required to wear his livery of shame at all times, even when "off duty," as a perpetual reminder that he is something less than a man. Nothing so deadens self-respect; and nothing is so characteristic of government, which is founded on lack of self-respect. JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

LABOR'S CURSE.

Labor's massmeeting in San Francisco, August 8, was advertised to be addressed by "an eminent Protestant divine," and "The Reverend P. C. Yorke;" at the invitation of the labor leaders.

The Rev. Frank K. Baker, "the eminent Protestant Divine," said:

"I wish it were possible for a Nehemiah to come forward, and, by speaking a word, to bring about peace."

The reverend eminent Protestant divine did not tell the meeting that nothing will bring peace but a medium of exchange that will abolish usury, whose sole function will be exchanging labor. E. P. and R. F. K. B. did not repeat the point of the argument plain Nehemiah used in addressing that other massmeeting; Christians never do:

"I pray you, let us leave off this usury; restore, I pray you, to them, even this day, their lands, their vineyards, their oliveyards, and their houses, also the hundredth part of the money, and of the corn, the wine, and the oil that ye exact of them."

Plain Nehemiah (1 per cent would not support reverends) saw that one per cent was ruining the nation; and now labor invites reverends to address them. Alas, what hope is there for labor? These parsons, with the state, backed by soldiers and police, have worked the one per cent, through Christianity, up to nineteen hundred per cent. First National Bank of New York's dividend, July 31, 1901, was nineteen hundred per cent. Labor pays it all. Truly a notable comment on nineteen hundred years of the Christianity of parsons, who have the brazen effrontery to refer to Nehemiah.

The Reverend P. C. Yorke said many good things to the men who provide his bread and butter, etc. He referred to "Pope Leo XIII, because he is one of the great moral leaders of the world." How can a human parasite be moral? Thoreau, a far greater man as regards nobility, said: "To reject religion is the first step toward moral excellence." Tolstoi says: "All religion is a human fraud; in Christianity, the whole fraud is built up on the fantastic conception of a 'church.' There is no idea which has produced more evil, none more inimical to Christ's teaching, than the idea of a 'church.'"

The Reverend Father-in-God Yorke further vaporized: "Shall man, for whom Christ died, be crushed beneath the foot of the meanest of the angels that fell from Heaven—Mammon, the spirit of greed?" How's that for fireworks and fog, from a man who upholds the metal standard of all values, animate and inanimate, and also that land shall be sold, although the Christian text-book says: "The land shall not be sold!"

Workingmen will never be free, unless they first free themselves from church superstition. Yorke showed that supposing we do get to heaven we may be kicked out! It is a very funny business, this imaginary estate fake; but surely the agents should not even hint at the uncertainty of the tenure of the heavenly lots they offer for sale.

Labor will be robbed at every move, until they can freely exchange their labor, by cutting off the "suckers" rent, usury, and profit.

A world-wide universal "strike" must be inaugurated by the demand that every government should issue non-in-

terest-bearing paper money; notice being given of the date on which all workers will cease their labor unless all wages are thus paid. All workers would then secure the whole value of their products.

The government now loans money to national banks at one half of one per cent, but will not do so to states, counties, municipalities, or one of the "sovereign people." This suggestion is not to uphold "government," but to get all the good out of the evil, so long as it exists; and it is the quietest and quickest plan, and the most economical of human life, that can now be carried out.

KINGHORN-JONES.

MORONG REPLIES.

Comrade Morton, in commenting upon my "meditations" in No. 149, might give the casual reader the impression that I held the "notion" that sex gratification is all there is to love. Whether it is or not, is a matter of minor importance in the discussion of the question of sexual freedom. The latter includes not only freedom of love, but freedom of sex gratification.

An ideal of love not in harmony with freedom of sex-gratification is an orthodox ideal—is tainted more or less with asceticism. If the radical free lover can find no woman physically adapted to him, he will seek the company of women of greater sexual virility, who are able to satisfy him, feeling no sense of shame for the desires which nature has implanted in him, nor contempt for the one to whom he ultimately goes for their gratification.

There is an element of freedom in prostitution so called, which the free-lover will be quick to seize upon as a basis for his reform. And it should be his aim to elevate it, rather than to join with the conventional moralist in condemning it and the prostitute.

So far as I can see, there is no particular reason from the standpoint of economy in the satisfaction of sexual needs, or otherwise, why the radical man should prefer cooperative housekeeping to the individualistic plan, and insure the necessary expense of the same.

And on the principle that free love is designed to refine and purify the relation between the sexes, he will prefer temporary relations to more permanent ones with women not more free, involving, as such do, more opportunity to influence the character and degrade it to the level of conventional morality. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," here as elsewhere.

G. MORONG.

WOMEN'S SUPPORT.

Comrade Morong, arguing that a free woman ought not to look for any pecuniary help from a man with whom she has sexual relations, says it is preferable to have temporary relations with "prostitutes, conventionally so called," rather than to form a lasting connection with a woman who is "not free from the support consideration." This gives me an appetite for saying a few things.

First: While Comrade Morong does not explicitly say that the employment of prostitutes is consistent with the character of an honorable man, his language is, at any rate, adapted to encourage that belief. I don't like this—not unless he thinks that a life of prostitution is consistent with the character of

an honorable woman. Most of us agree that a woman not only degrades herself by becoming a prostitute, but continues to degrade herself by continuing in prostitution. If so, then I, if I employ her, make myself the instrument of her degradation. I insist on thinking that one is not acting honorably when he consents to make himself the instrument of anybody's degradation. If regard for one's neighbors' welfare is essential to an honorable life, then we cannot well make out that it is more disgraceful for a woman to be a prostitute one hour than for a man to employ her as such one hour. If not—if one can well get along without regarding his neighbors' welfare—then I recommend Comrade Morton to follow Hugh O. Pentecost's example, turn his back on Anarchism and become a boodler politician.

Assuming that Comrade Morong agrees with me in this, and was merely drawing a comparison between two acts which in his judgment are both unworthy of a freeman, I still don't think he has drawn it rightly. Surely the woman who sells herself right along for cash is not better than the one who gives herself for love in the first place, but who lets her love get tainted with a thought of profit; and I can't believe that a man is in a better situation with the former than with the latter. Is it wise to despise the profit of genuine love merely because you have reason to fear that you will not find it unmixed? You will find very few things unmixed in this world—not even unmixed villains. But gold is none the less genuine gold for being contained in an alloy.

Now, as to our comrade's fundamental proposition—that a woman ought never to expect any pecuniary return for her sexual favors, and, therefore, ought not to live with a man, because in the Communism of family life she would be more or less likely to receive something. It sounds very fine, because we shall all agree that it is nicer for a woman not to be moved by pecuniary motives in matters of love. But this is two edged. If she gets nothing, it is a pecuniary sacrifice for her to give up her celibacy; if there are to be any children, it is likely to be the heaviest kind of an expense. She is just as much tempted to be mercenary that way as to be mercenary in the hope of what the man will give her. And really, it doesn't seem to me desirable that women should bear all the expense of childbirth and children, while they are under the disabilities which childbirth brings. Perhaps Comrade Morong would let the man pay the special expenses of that crisis; but it doesn't appear from his article.

At any rate, since a communal life for two offers certain economic advantages to both parties, and since if there is to be such a life, it is obviously more convenient and comfortable for two lovers to live together, rather than for him to live with his sister, and her to live with her uncle, and the lovers to have a perpetual errand for visiting each other,—it seems hard that we mustn't accept these advantages and conveniences, for fear we should be weak enough to become mercenary thereby.

The root of the matter lies largely in the fact that women's wages are low. If the two were equal in earning power, there would be no presumption that the woman received more than she gave, by pooling her housekeeping with the man.

Is the time to come when women will in general earn as much as men? I used to think so; but now I don't. Woman's employment is conditioned by the fact that an ordinary young woman must expect to see the day when she will have children to care for, for a good while; and it hardly pays her to acquire any skill which will be useless while she cares for the children, such as skill in the work of a shop girl, factory operative, or typewriter. If she goes into such work, she will probably not become skilful, because she will regard her work as only temporary; then her wages will be low. But the tendency is for the mass of women to choose such work as does not come under this ban. In the past, it was work that they could do while the baby was at hand, such as spinning, sewing, farming. In future, it will be work that pertains to the care of children, such as doctoring or teaching. But, in either case, any occupation into which many women are directed by the mere fact of their sex will presumably be overcrowded, and therefore underpaid. A sensible girl will take great pains to fit herself to make the best of her children. Therefore, the more sensible girls are, the more they will crowd into such occupations as tend especially to give such fitness. Well, then, the more sensible girls are, the more they will crowd down wages in those occupations that the sensible girls crowd into.

If I am right, woman's life will in general be economically harder than man's, as long as commercial society lasts. Is it desirable, in the interest of the race, that men should not do something to relieve this pressure? Can the race carry its load better, by having it lopsided? STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

THIS UNION ALL RIGHT.

While some people object to unionism there will be none to resent the expression of it found in the organization of the Pullman porters. These men are not combining to regulate the size of tips, but simply to demand decent, living wages such as will relieve them from the necessity of being mendicants. At present they must rely for support not upon their employers, but upon the patrons of these employers. The patrons already pay a high price for what they get, and they resent the process of being bled.

The Pullman Company is the only concern that expects the public to pay wages for it. Every time it declares a fancy dividend it insults the traveling community. It is paying out of the accumulation it has made, not through good service, but through maintenance of the fiction that it does not have to give wages to the men who work for it. These men are expected to do work, and then to become beggars or starve. The best the Pullman people offer is the use of a good route over which to beg. For a merchant to fill a store with clerks and expect them to subsist on the favors of customers would be as sensible. There is not the faintest reason why the Pullmans should not liquidate their own debts. There is not the remotest shadow of ground for the occupant of a berth paying not only more than the worth of the berth, but then leaving a coin in the hand of the porter. The demand is an imposition that has the color of robbery. For an especial favor from the porter an

ordinary traveler would not object to making specific remuneration, but he does not want to do this when he knows that his act fattens the coffers of one of the richest, most arrogant, and least accommodating corporations on earth. The public does not ask anything unusual. It recognizes the fact that the Pullman outfit is competent to pay wages, and wonders why it declines to do so. There should be an end to the plan of tipping porters. In reality, this process is the tipping of a lot of millionaires who do not need the money and fail to appreciate the kindness.—Tacoma Ledger.

REVOLUTION HELPLESS.

Continued from page 1.

needs; I say do this, and we have broken the power of capital over labor. The privilege which money represents is broken; and mutual and equal service becomes the basis of human association. Then cooperation will take the place of capitalism; and the capitalist will have the same chance to earn an honest living as the worker; in fact, he must earn his living or starve, just like the common plebian, and no matter what laws remain on the statute books.

What I want to insist upon now, and all the time, is that it is an economic and not a political problem that we have to solve; and that it must be solved in the conduct of practical affairs and not by voting or by resolutions. When we talk of revolution we discredit, in advance, our whole contention; and when we join with one political party against another we limit our influence and invite unnecessary antagonism. Let us seek to win men instead of driving them away. Let us appeal to reason and conscience, instead of violence; to love and fellowship instead of hate. Let us show that discontent does not mean the denunciation and abuse of whatever we do not favor or understand, but a holding up of higher ideals, and a holy unrest so long as those ideals are not realized. W. H. VAN ORNUM.

MENTAL SCIENCE THOUGHTS.

We are all seeking happiness. Happiness, or the securing of the best, is the inherent right, the heritage, of all mankind. The way to hope for the best is to live for the best; and that is by practicing self-control, and giving to the world our best thoughts. Thoughts will, in time, express themselves in action; it may be immediately; or it may be after long years; and the longer the more potent the display, because the seed has grown to be a part of the character; whereas, when shown in its incipency, it may be crushed by coming in contact with, and being antagonized by the influences which are always around us.

Habit is often a terrible master, whether it be in the realm of what we call immoral, or in that which we call peculiar or eccentric. The wise man will seek to correct wrong habits of all degrees, in himself, from the vicious to the merely eccentric, as soon as they become manifest to him in his life. This must be done, not by self blame, but, while recognizing the wrong tendency, seeking to cultivate the opposite; for that which we cultivate and desire to possess will some time be ours. C. L. PENHALLOW.

HOME NEWS

George Atkinson has been paying a brief visit at the Verity home.

The Adams launch took a merry party on Thursday to visit the Elks' Carnival in Tacoma.

Early corn has begun to ripen. The crop will not be large; but the quality is excellent.

Comrade Mary Parker has enjoyed a several days' visit from her sister, Mrs. Zell Sawyer and her niece, Bessie Sawyer.

The huckleberry season has begun. The berries are abundant and delicious; and berrying parties are of almost daily occurrence.

The land owned by the Mutual Home Association is located on Von Geldern Cove (known locally as Joes Bay), an arm of Carrs Inlet, and is 13 miles west from Tacoma on an air line, but the steamer route is about 20 miles.

The association is simply a land-holding institution, and can take no part in the starting of an industry. All industries are inaugurated by the members interested and those willing to help them. Streets are not opened yet and we have no sidewalks. Those thinking of coming here must expect to work, as it is not an easy task to clear this land and get it in condition for cultivation. There are 85 people here—23 men, 25 women and 36 children—girls over 15 years 4, boys 3. We are not living communistic, but there is not anything in our articles of incorporation and agreement to prohibit any number of persons from living in that manner if they desire to do so. Those writing for information will please inclose a self-addressed, stamped envelope for reply.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

A trip to Burley has been arranged for Sunday, September 1, including the holding of a basket picnic, in conjunction with the members of the cooperative colony there. While the day as a whole will be given up to enjoyment, brief addresses will be made by L. E. Rader of Burley on The New Emancipation, A. B. Ellis of Burley on The Ideal Life, and Comrade James F. Morton, Jr., on Brotherhood. The launches will start at 5 a. m., SHARP, in order to catch the full tide. Returning, we will leave Burley at about 5 p. m. As this will probably be the last general outing of the season, let all turn out, to make it likewise the best. There will be room for all who desire to go. Bring your lunch and come.

HOW TO GET TO HOME.

All those intending to make us a visit will come to Tacoma and take the steamer TYPHOON for HOME. The steamer leaves Commercial dock every afternoon except Saturday and Sunday at 2:30 o'clock. Leaves Sunday morning at 8 o'clock. Be sure to ask the captain to let you off at HOME.

RECEIPTS.

Matrosow 50c, Swank 50c, Atkinson 50c, Levin 25c, Jamison 50c.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS FOR SALE BY DISCONTENT

Perfect Motherhood. Lois Waisbrook-r.	1 00
Irene or the Road to Freedom. Sada Bailey Fowler.	1 00
Business Without Money. W. H. Van Ornum.	50
Helen Harlow's Vow. Lois Waisbrook-r.	25
God and the State. By Michael Bakunin.	05
Moribund Society and Anarchy. By Jean Grave.	25
Anarchy. By Enrico Malatesta. Is It All a Dream? By Jas. F. Morton, Jr.	10
God and Government: The Siamese Twins of Superstition. W. E. Nevill.	05
The Chicago Martyrs; The Famous Speeches of the Eight Anarchists in Judge Gary's Court, and Altgeld's Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Neebe and Schwab.	25
Five Propaganda Leaflets on the Sex Question.	10
Personal Rights and Sexual Wrongs What the Young Need to Know. E. C. Walker	30
The Revival of Puritanism. E. C. Walker	10
Appeal to the Young. Kropotkin.	05
The Evolution of the Family. Jonathan Mayo Crane.	05
Love in Freedom. Moses Harman.	05
The Evolution of Modesty. Jonathan Mayo Crane.	05
The Regeneration of Society. Lillian Harmon.	05
Motherhood in Freedom. Moses Harman.	05
Judgment. Wm. Platt.	05
The Coming Woman. Lillie D. White.	05
Plain Words on the Woman Question. Grant Allen. With remarks by E. C. Walker.	05
Variety vs. Monogamy. E. C. Walker	05
Marriage and Morality. Lillian Harman.	05

OUR WORSHIP OF PRIMITIVE SOCIAL GUESSES BY EDWIN C. WALKER

No man is wise enough to foresee the secondary results of any proposed restriction, and no history is copious enough to record the evils that have ensued upon denials of liberty.—George E. Macdonald.

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Price, 15 cents. For sale by DISCONTENT.

THE NEW HEDONISM. BY GRANT ALLEN.

Grant Allen needs no introduction to reading, thinking men and women. Man of science, a writer of charming expository and imaginative prose, he was, perhaps, at his best when bravely leading on, as in this brilliant brochure, in the fight against degrading religious and moral superstitions and time-sacred wrongs. No brief description can tell you what this splendid little work embraces no short excerpts can satisfy you. Price 5 cents.

FOR SALE BY DISCONTENT.

MEETING.

The Independent Debating Club meets every Sunday at 2 p. m., at 909 Market street, San Francisco, Calif. Free discussion. Public invited.



Contains a full, plain, and easy reading treatise on "Health and Disease, with Recipes," all the average reader can profitably learn of personal hygiene and common diseases (including special, separate chapters for men and women); all right up-to-date, and fully illustrated with hundreds of photo-engravings and chromo-lithographs. Contains also the already popular "Plain Home Talk" about the relations of the sexes and social customs in all ages and all countries, with "original and startling" suggestions for social reforms; newly revised, enlarged, and well illustrated. All is "heart to heart" plain home talk from a clear thinking, plain speaking, liberal minded medical author of over forty years' experience. Nearly 1,000,000 of his former books sold. A curious book for curious people, and a sensible book for everyone. Answers 1001 delicate questions one would like to ask his regular physician and yet doesn't want to. 1248 pages, 400 illustrations (80 in colors), 250 recipes. Price, clothbound, \$2, mailed.

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MURRAY HILL PUB. CO., 129 E. 28th St., New York.

Articles of Incorporation and Agreement of the Mutual Home Association.

Be it remembered, that on this 17th day of January, 1898, we, the undersigned, have associated ourselves together for the purpose of forming a corporation under the laws of the State of Washington.

That the name of the corporation shall be The Mutual Home Association.

The purpose of the association is to assist its members in obtaining and building homes for themselves and to aid in establishing better social and moral conditions.

The location of this corporation shall be at Home, located on Joes Bay, Pierce County, State of Washington; and this association may establish in other places in this state branches of the same where two or more persons may wish to locate.

Any person may become a member of this association by paying into the treasury a sum equal to the cost of the land he or she may select, and one dollar for a certificate, and subscribing to this agreement.

The affairs of this association shall be conducted by a board of trustees, elected as may be provided for by the by-laws.

A certificate of membership shall entitle the legal holder to the use and occupancy of not less than one acre of land nor more than two (less all public streets) upon payment annually into the treasury of the association a sum equal to the taxes assessed against the tract of land he or she may hold.

All money received from memberships shall be used only for the purpose of purchasing land. The real estate of this association shall never be sold, mortgaged or disposed of. A unanimous vote of all members of this association shall be required to change these articles of incorporation.

No officer, or other person, shall ever be empowered to contract any debt in the name of this association.

All certificates of membership shall be for life.

Upon the death of any member a certificate of membership shall be issued covering the land described in certificate of membership of deceased.

First: To person named in will or bequest.

Second: Wife or husband.

Third: Children of deceased; if there is more than one child they must decide for themselves.

All improvements upon land covered by certificate of membership shall be personal property, and the association as such has no claim thereto.

Any member has the right of choice of any land not already chosen or set aside for a special purpose.

CERTIFICATE OF MEMBERSHIP.

This is to certify that has subscribed to the articles of incorporation and agreement and paid into the treasury of The Mutual Home Association the sum of . . . dollars, which entitles . . . to the use and occupancy for life of lot block . . . as platted by the association, upon complying with the articles of agreement.

SEND 10 CENTS for specimens of 10 liberal papers and 10 tracts, circulars and sample of stocking yarn, or 8 cents for a copy of "Little Freethinker." Elmina Drake Glenker, Snowville, Va.